

Message Text

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44

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 OMB-01 DRC-01 /125 W

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R 121210Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 519

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 9192

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT IS

SUBJ: RING WING'S OPPOSITION TO ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN CEASEFIRE
AGREEMENT

1. DECISION OF RIGHT WING OPPOSITION, LIKUD, TO VOTE AGAINST
ACCEPTANCE OF NOVEMBER 11 SIX-POINT AGREEMENT IN KNESSET THIS
WEEK IS CONSISTENT WITH ITS PREVIOUS OPPOSITION TO OCTOBER 22
CEASEFIRE AND TO FIRST GOI DECISION TO ALLOW NON-MILITARY
RESUPPLY OF THIRD ARMY. IN EACH CASE, LIKUD HAS INSISTED THAT
ISRAELI INTERESTS WERE BEING SACRIFICED BY ACCEPTANCE OF US OR
US-USSR PROPOSAL. IN CASE OF SIX-POINT AGREEMENT LIKUD HAS
FOCUSED ITS ATTENTION ON ALLEGED AMBIGUITIES, AREAS OF POTENTIAL
CONFLICTING ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN INTERPRETATIONS AND PRESUMED
EGYPTIAN INTENTION NOT TO COMPLY WITH
AGREEMENT. LIKUD HAS
EXPRESSED PARTICULAR CONCERN OVER FAILURE OF AGREEMENT TO
ADDRESS ITSELF OT PROBLEM OF SYRIAN-HELD POWS (I.E. FAILURE TO
MUSTER EGYPTIAN PRESSURES ON SARG TO EFFECT POW EXCHANGE)
AND ABSENCE OF ANY EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO LIFTING BAB-EL-MANDEB
BLOCKADE.

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2. LIKUD'S OPPOSITION, DOUBTS AND RESERVATIONS STEM FROM AT LEAST TWO FACTORS: INTRINSIC CHAUVINISM AND POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM. MANY IF NOT ALL MEMBERS OF LIKUD ARE IMBUED WITH EXTREME NATIONALISTIC ETHOS WHICH INCLISS THEM TO LOOK WITH SUSPICION ON ANY CONCESSION WAHSOEVER AS TRICK UNDERMINING ISRAELI SECURITY. WITH ELECTORAL CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, LIKUD IS ATTEMPTING TO DAW CLEAR DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN ITSELF AND ALIGNMENT ON WAR ISSUES. ITS TACTICAL PROBLEM IS TO AVOID GOING TOO FAR. HESITANCY OF LIKUD LEADERSHIP IN RECENT DAYS ON HOW TO PLAY SIX-POINT AGREEMENT REFLECTS AWARENESS THAT NARROW DIVIDING LINE EXISTS BETWEEN ISEHUGE AS DEFENDER OF NATIONAL INTEREST AND AS OPPONENT OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE HEARD THAT MANY LIKUD SUPPORTERS QUESTION WISDOM OF LIKUD POSTURE ON NOVEMBER 11 CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT.

3. LIKUD'S AVOWED AIM IS TO PREVENT GOI GROM ENTERING INTO SUBSTANTIVE PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE ELECTIONS ARE HELD DECEMBER 31. LIKUD LEADERSHIP BELIEVES THAT ELECTIONS WILL PRODUCE PROFOUND FAVORABLE SHIFT IN POWERNELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LABOR ALIGNMNET AND ITSELF AND THEREFORE EXPECTS TOHAVE MAJOR VOICE IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH ARABS. ALTHOUGH LIKUD LEADERS ARE REALISTIC ENOUGH NOT TO ANTICIPATE TAKING OVER GOVERNMENT, SOME OF THEM DO APPEAR TO FORESEE POSSIBILITY OF ENTERING NATIONAL UNITY GOVEFFMENT, DESPITE THEIR PUBLIC POSITION OF OPPOSING THIS.

4. COMMENT: IN CASE ANYONE DOUBTS THAT HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF, IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT LIKUD LEADER MENA EM BEGIN WAS EQUALLY OPPOSED TO CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT IN JULY 1948, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS A SELLOUT, AS HE IS TO THE PRESENT ONE.
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